

## WHAT RUMANIA WANTS--THE DREAM OF BUCHAREST

The Price One Balkan  
State Puts on Its  
Services.

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From the very outset of the war the importance of obtaining the support of Rumania has been recognized alike in Petrograd, Vienna and Berlin. In Bucharest there has been played a diplomatic game resembling those fought out in Athens and Sofia, but of far greater real importance to the contestants. For Rumania could bring to Russia and her allies not merely a well trained army of above 300,000 men, with large reserves, but an open road to the Bulgarian frontier and thus a land approach to Constantinople. To the Russian armies in Galicia Rumanian intervention would mean a flank attack upon the Austrians and the retreat of the Hapsburg forces from the Trans-Carpathian front.

Had Rumania intervened on the side of the anti-German Allies last spring the Russian disaster would probably have been prevented, Serbia would not have been crushed, Bulgaria would not have ventured into the war at all unless on the anti-Teutonic side; there would have been no crisis at Athens and Greek armies would unquestionably have shared in the Gallipoli adventure. Rumanian intervention could, too, have been had by the Allies for a price, a price which seemed to them too high at the critical moment and has since seemed ridiculously low.

#### German Influence.

As to the German influences, they have been exerted from the very start, with great success so far as the question of Rumanian neutrality is concerned, but have failed to enlist Rumania for reasons that will be described presently. At the very outset of the world war King Charles of Rumania called his ministers together to prepare for action with Rumania's Austro-German allies, for Rumania was and is bound to Vienna and Berlin by treaty. His ministers warned him that to attempt this meant to produce revolution. Thus threatened, he was obliged to abandon his plan, and his disappointment is said to have hastened his death.

In the long series of ill turns which the Allies have suffered in the Balkans, most have come through the fact that German kings or queens ruled in Balkan capitals. To Napoleon III is to be charged the fact that a Hohenzollern dynasty is seated at Bucharest, and in Rumania, as in Greece, the crown has worked against the larger dreams of the people, for the greater good not of Rumanian or Hellenic aspirations, but for the triumph of Teutonism in the world. Thus the Balkan situation may be summarized as a state of popular sympathy with the Allies, wholly restrained by dynastic alliance with Germany and Austria.

#### Rumanian Aspiration.

As the situation has developed in the Near East, however, it has become more and more unmistakable that the true direction of Rumanian action must be against Austria. This arises from the fact that it is in Austrian territory that Rumania sees the promise of the future for herself. Like Greece, like Serbia, like Bulgaria, Rumania has a dream; a race ambition. Indeed, hers is the most considerable of all the Balkan dreams. Greater Rumania, if realized, will be one of the largest of the small states of Europe, ranking after Spain in population and next to Italy in area.

To understand the present, the past and the possible future action of Rumania it is necessary to fix in mind this great dream. Always as the pendulum swings backward and forward in the Near East it is essential to recall that the Rumanian people, like the Greek, are looking forward to the downfall of a great empire as the prelude to the realization of their own racial unity. What Turkey is for the Greeks, Austria is for the Rumanians. But always, too, it is necessary to remember that the King, the court and the financial interests in Bucharest, as in Athens, are operating against national wishes and for the alliance whose success means to the people the ruin of all their hopes.

In addition it is necessary to recall briefly the development of Rumanian policy, the forces and facts, which have influenced the course of events in this kingdom and still materially affect its diplomatic and national action. In this article I purpose first to review very briefly the recent events in Rumanian history antedating the Great War and then to outline the present hopes and purposes of the patriots as contrasted with the Teutons in Bucharest.

In the last Russo-Turkish War Rumania

fought with the Russians against the Turks. When the Czar's armies crossed Rumania to invade Bulgaria, then Turkish territory, the Russian Emperor paid little heed to Rumanian wishes and showed scant courtesy to King Charles. But a few weeks later, when Russian armies were in extreme peril in the Balkan mountains, the Czar made a personal appeal to the Rumanian King, who responded promptly, and the Rumanian army played a large rôle in the defeat of the Turk.

Instead of rewarding Rumania for her aid, the Czar promptly turned his back upon a king who had proved a friend in need. At the Congress of Berlin Russia was permitted to take from Rumania the Bessarabian territory at the mouth of the Danube, which was Rumanian and peopled by Rumanians. By way of compensation Rumania received the Dobrudja province, between the Black Sea and the Danube. This was a barren stretch, populated by Bulgars and Turks. Rumania thus acquired a province of small value and a quarrel with Bulgaria which has lasted to the present hour. To-day, as always, Bulgarians dream of regaining the Dobrudja.

#### The Second Balkan War.

A natural consequence of Russian selfishness was the alliance of Rumania with Austria and Germany. Henceforth Rumania was a silent partner of the Triple Alliance. In the past thirty years Rumania has marched steadily toward wealth and power. Her grain fields and oil wells have made her prosperous. Her population has increased rapidly. Bucharest has become a great modern city, modelled on Paris and possessing boulevards which at least rival those of Brussels. Her army has grown to importance. Long before he died King Charles had his revenge, and Rumanian hostility was a real obstacle to Russian purpose in the Balkans.

It was not until the Balkan wars of three years ago that there was any interruption in the friendly relations between Vienna and Bucharest. But in the first Balkan War Bulgaria achieved a swift and great victory and Bulgarian ambition was uncovered as peril not merely to Rumanian desire to remain the leading power of the Balkans, but also to the integrity of

the Rumanian kingdom. For at this time there was disclosed the Bulgarian determination to repossess the Dobrudja, which had now been transformed into a prosperous province, and held Costanza, the sole window of Rumania on the sea.

#### Rumania's Compensation.

At the close of this war Rumania asked Bulgaria for the cession of Silistria and a narrow strip between the Danube and the Black Sea, which would insure the protection of the railroad line from Bucharest to the sea. This request for "compensation" was based upon the fact that Rumania had held her hand and refrained from intervention on behalf of Turkey when intervention would have spelled Bulgar defeat. Bulgaria declined, and Bulgarian refusal was encouraged at Vienna and Berlin, where statesmen were busy at work endeavoring to influence Bulgaria in such fashion as to break up the Balkan Alliance.

This Balkan Alliance had been made in Russia. If it endured it was bound to be controlled by Russia and to become a grave menace to the safety of the Triple Alliance and the integrity of Austria. In this situation Vienna egged Bulgaria into the Second Balkan War. But the result was unexpected. Rumania, perceiving that her own interests were being sacrificed by Austrian and German diplomacy, boldly changed sides, received Russian indorsement for her mobilization and struck Bulgaria down at the precise moment when Bulgaria was opening her campaign against Greece and Serbia.

Thanks to Rumanian intervention, Bulgaria was defeated, and at Bucharest there was signed a treaty which destroyed for the moment the Bulgarian dream of dominating the Balkans and becoming the Prussia of the Near East. For her own reward Rumania took, not Silistria, but a wide strip from the Danube to the Black Sea, containing a population of 300,000, chiefly Bulgar, and some of the best agricultural land of Bulgaria. Thus Rumania utterly defeated Austro-German plans and to a considerable degree escaped from Teutonic influence and returned to a Russian alignment. But by acquiring Bulgarian territory she exposed herself to attack by Bulgaria whenever this state should regain her power to strike. Just as Germany, by taking Alsace-Lorraine, insured

lasting French hatred and future French attack, Rumania had invited Bulgarian revanche and made Bulgaria's friends her enemies.

#### The Great War.

After the Treaty of Bucharest, which restored Rumania to the leading position in the Balkans, Rumania, Greece and Serbia signed a treaty of alliance which bound all three to act against Bulgaria should this state attempt to reopen the settlement made at the Rumanian capital and regain lost provinces. This treaty Serbia invoked a few weeks ago, unsuccessfully, Greece and Rumania pleading that it was a treaty binding them to support Serbia against Bulgaria, not against the Central European powers.

But the subsequent success of Bulgaria, in alliance with the Central Powers, has again raised the question of national safety at Bucharest. As it now stands, Bulgaria seems likely to regain all she lost at Bucharest, save only the Rumanian acquisitions, and there is the patent peril that she may presently attack Rumania. It is this danger which to-day influences Rumanian patriots, together with the fact that the realization of their great dream will be utterly impossible if the Central Powers win, and that from the Great War they will emerge, not increased, but possibly diminished, by the loss of the Dobrudja.

#### Bulgarian Hopes.

Unless the Central Powers are defeated Bulgaria will keep Macedonia and eastern Serbia; she will acquire Thrace from the Turks, in return for Turkish acquisitions in Egypt promised by Germany. She may stretch her frontiers west to the Adriatic through Albania and obtain a window on the sea at Durazzo. Thus increased, Bulgaria will presently develop into the leading Balkan state and in her own time can hope to acquire Salonica, as well as Kavala and Drama; she may even dream of possessing herself of Constantinople, as Czar Ferdinand planned three years ago.

Two questions, then, one of safety and influence in the Balkans, the other of realizing racial ambitions, are pressing the Rumanians toward the Allied camp. It remains now to discuss these Rumanian ambitions.

As at present constituted Rumania is

a kingdom with an area of some 53,000 square miles, about the size of New York and Connecticut, and a population of a little more than 7,500,000, largely homogeneous. It is made up of the three provinces of Wallachia, Moldavia and Dobrudja, once portions of the Turkish Empire.

#### Greater Rumania.

But north, west and east are provinces of Austria and Russia which contain several millions of Rumanians. This Rumanian race traces its origin to Dacia by the Roman Emperor Trajan, and to-day the descendants of these Romans are to be found in the Banat of Temesvar and the province of Transylvania, in Hungary, in the southern half of the Austrian province of Bukovina, and they supply two-thirds of the population of the Russian province of Bessarabia, the southwestern portion of which was once Rumanian and was taken by Russia at the Congress of Berlin.

The population of these several outlying Rumanian lost provinces is as follows: Transylvania, 2,500,000, of which 1,500,000 Rumanian; Temesvar, 1,500,000, of which 500,000 Rumanian; Bukovina, 650,000, of which 250,000 Rumanian; Bessarabia, 2,500,000, of which 1,750,000 Rumanian. The area of these provinces is: Temesvar, 11,000 square miles; Transylvania, 21,000; Bukovina, 6,000; Bessarabia, 17,000. In all these provinces, too, the balance of the population non-Rumanian belongs to several races; thus there are many Hungarians, many Germans and some Serbs in Temesvar; Germans and Hungarians in Transylvania; Slavs in Bukovina, and Turks and Slavs in Bessarabia.

#### The Dream.

Could the Rumanians realize their dream and retake the lost provinces Rumania would become a state of 105,000 square miles, with a population of some 14,000,000. Compare this with an area of 121,000 for Great Britain and 111,000 for Italy. It would have for natural frontiers the Danube, the Dniester, the Transylvanian Mountains, separating it from Northern Hungary, and the Maros, dividing it from Central Hungary. Of this 14,000,000 of people upward of 11,000,000 would be Rumanian, and there would be in the minorities no group which would threaten national integrity, for the alien population shows on the ethnological maps as scattered archipelagoes, not solid blocks adjoining race brothers across the proposed frontiers.

The first difficulty for the Rumanians lies in the fact that they desire to acquire territory from both sides. National aspirations cannot be completely realized by the defeat and partition of Austria-Hungary, for this would leave Russia in possession of Bessarabia and probably pave the way for a Russian annexation of Bukovina. In addition Serbia claims the corner of Temesvar facing Belgrade, which holds 250,000 Serbs. This is the Pancsova district, much discussed last spring.

While Russian armies were still advancing victoriously in the Carpathians in March of this year Rumania offered to join the anti-German alliance provided Russia would cede to her the Bessarabian province, part of which was once Rumanian, and agree that when Austria was defeated Rumania should have all of Transylvania and Temesvar and the southern half of Bukovina, including Czernowitz, the capital. This demand was rather rudely rejected by Russia, then seemingly on the point of entering the Hungarian Plain. The breaking points were the Bessarabian province and the Pancsova region.

#### Russian Disaster.

With the Russian disaster and retreat all immediate chance of Rumanian intervention on the Allied side came to an abrupt close and a new phase opened. Austro-German armies, having cleared most of Galicia and Bukovina, began to push forward toward the northern end of Bessarabia, and Rumania was invited to join the Central Powers and acquire the whole of Bessarabia in return, it was whispered, for cessions to Bulgaria along the Dobrudja frontier, for Vienna and Berlin were already busy at Sofia.

But Rumania again declined the bargain. Bessarabia was a small part of her hopes. Again, her people were thoroughly anti-German in their sympathies; both French and Italian influences are considerable in the Rumanian capital and outside of the court circles; Rumanians are proud of their Latin strain, and have modelled their national life on that of their Western race brethren. Above all, Austro-German success promised the rise of a Greater Bulgaria, which was an ever present peril for the Rumanians, who regarded the preservation of the Treaty of Bucharest as essential to Rumanian safety and supremacy in the Balkans.

#### The New Situation.

Austro-German armies failed to conquer Bessarabia; indeed, they are back on their own territory in this region. Russia was

A New Roman Empire if  
Rumania Guesses Right  
Soon Enough.

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not eliminated and Russian armies are beginning to press on Rumanian frontiers again, while Petrograd demands that Rumania, even if she will not enter the war, permit Russian armies to cross Rumanian territory, as they did on the march to San Stefano a generation ago. Such armies would unquestionably put an end to Bulgarian aspirations, for even if Bulgarian forces were not crushed, the losses, together with those daily suffered against Serb and Anglo-French forces in the south along the Vardar, would leave the Bulgars, whose sacrifices in life in the Balkan wars were tremendous, crippled for at least a generation.

Unquestionably Russia is now prepared to meet Rumanian demands in Bukovina and in Temesvar, where poor Serbia has ceased to be a factor now, and in Transylvania, where there never was any conflict between Latin and Slav. There remains Bessarabia. Will Russia agree to turn this great province, with its considerable Black Sea front, over to the Rumanians, and let them thus extend their territory to the very environs of Odessa? This still seems unlikely. But the Rumanians, having been promised Bessarabia by the Germans if the Central Powers succeed, may well insist.

#### A Cold-Blooded Game.

It is an exceedingly cold-blooded game that the Rumanians are playing, but it is their right to play such a game. They have been betrayed both by the Russians and the Central Powers in the past. Their contribution to Russian success in the former Turkish war was rewarded by the stealing of their fertile province. Their fidelity to the Triple Alliance for almost a generation was recompensed by the sacrifice of their aspirations and even their safety, when the Central Powers needed to meet Bulgarian aspirations and thus break up the Balkan Alliance.

Nor should it be overlooked that Rumania might easily bring the decisive contribution to the present war. Not alone would her army of 300,000 men, admirably equipped and well disciplined, turn the tide in the Balkans, but Rumanian intervention would compel the retreat of the Central Powers to the Carpathians and the San River, it would imperil the whole German line in Western Russia, and it might be the signal for revolt among the several millions of Rumanians in Austria-Hungary, who have long looked forward to a reunion with their free brothers.

#### The Battle Royal.

At Bucharest there is being fought a battle royal, with the King, the court, the financial forces and the upper classes largely aligned with the Central Powers. On the other side are the mass of the people and the few patriots like M. Take Jonescu, who dream of a greater Rumania as Venizelos and his followers dream of a restored Hellenic world.

In Rumania, as in Greece, the real advantage lies with the Allies, so far as national interest is concerned, for the great prizes are to be obtained only if the Central Powers are defeated. But the court influences have so far prevailed because there exists in Bucharest, as in Athens, a profound conviction that the Central Powers, that Germany, will win. Ferdinand, like Constantine, is impressed with German military strength, and Ferdinand belongs to the House of Hohenzollern, while Constantine has merely married a daughter of this family.

Like Greece, Rumania is prepared "to rush to the succor of the victor" in the present war. Like Greece, Rumania is still divided in its views as to which force will prove the victor. Like the Greeks, the Rumanians, as a people, are profoundly sympathetic with the Allies, and as a rule hostile to Germany and to Austria. Like the Greeks, they hate and fear the Bulgars, having joined the Greeks in plundering Bulgaria. It is exceedingly doubtful whether the Crown possesses influence enough to throw the Rumanian army to the Central Powers. King Charles desired to do this, and was forced by his ministers to abandon the project to keep his throne. So the deadlock in Rumania, as in Greece, has been maintained, on the whole, to the advantage of the Central Powers.

But in estimating the future course of Rumania it is well to keep in mind the great dream of Bucharest—the hope of a restored Roman Empire in the Transylvanian Alps and along the Danube and the Dniester, the aspiration for a Rumanian *risorgimento*, and a new Latin state but little smaller than modern Italy in area and possessing regions far more fertile than any in the Italian peninsula. To the realization of this dream the downfall of the Hapsburg Empire is the prime necessity. If the Central Powers win it can never be realized. But always Rumania has to consider the possibility of waiting too long and receiving nothing when Europe at last decides on peace.



Black shows Austrian, Hungarian and Russian Provinces inhabited by Rumanians.